
COMBAT

Soviet Social - Imperialism and the Ethiopian Revolution

(Special Issue)

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*A statement of the Central Committee of the
Ethiopian Students Union in North America
(ESUNA) delivered to our Union in January,
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Comrades,

We are assembled here today to take a rather brief look at the nature of present-day Soviet Union.

The necessity of having a correct understanding of the nature and role of present-day Soviet Union – internationally, regionally and in Ethiopia – cannot be overemphasized. And especially in light of the current massive intervention and all-round penetration of our country by the Soviet Union, it becomes the bounden duty of all Ethiopian progressives to stand up firmly and fight this ferocious enemy of our people.

I
The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 established the dictatorship of the proletariat by destroying the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Under the leadership of the great Lenin and the CPSU(B), the proletariat used revolutionary violence to seize state power; breakup and smash the military-bureaucratic bourgeois state machine and replace it by the new proletarian state.

For the first time, socialism became a reality on one sixth of the earth and the world imperialist front was breached confirming Lenin's great teachings on the laws governing imperialism and the possibility of achieving victory of socialism first in one or several countries.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution for the first time brought about the most profound revolution in human history, a revolution that raised the proletariat to the position of the ruling class; where power was transferred from the exploiting minority to the exploited majority; where dictatorship was exercised over a few exploiters and where the dictatorship of the proletariat provided the broadest and deepest democracy among the working people.

The October Revolution ushered in the era of the proletarian revolutions and the transition from capitalism to socialism. It ushered in the era of national liberation by awakening and arousing the multitudes of the oppressed in the colonies and semi-colonies.

To consolidate the first dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Union had to overcome every conceivable difficulty. Famine, civil war,

intervention by 14 capitalist powers, economic ruin, the splitting activities of alien elements — such were some of the grave difficulties which confronted the new Soviet State. But the CPSU(B) headed by Lenin not only overcame all these difficulties, but carried out a series of revolutionary measures along the socialist road. Industries were nationalized. Feudal relations were abolished. Oppressed nationalities were liberated. The emancipation of women was proclaimed. Important steps to create the material and cultural basis for socialist industrialization were initiated.

After Lenin's death, Stalin, as the chief leader of the Party and State, carried out Lenin's line on socialist industrialization and collectivization of agriculture, transforming the Soviet Union from a backward feudo-military-imperialist state into an advanced industrial socialist state; a socialist state where unemployment, crisis and anarchy of production were things of the past; a socialist state that repulsed and totally defeated German fascism.

In the course of building the Soviet Union into a mighty socialist state, Stalin led the CPSU(B) in waging a life-and-death struggle against Trotsky, Bukharin & Co; and defended Lenin's teachings, such as the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus, in brief, the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin was a bastion of socialism, a base for promoting the proletarian world revolution, a beacon of hope and a source of moral and material support for the proletariat, oppressed peoples and nations, and a defender of world peace.

II

During their lifetimes, both Lenin and Stalin waged relentless struggle against all variants of revisionism and opportunism.

In struggle against Bernsteinian reformism, Kautsky's revisionism and social-chauvinism and the entire counterrevolutionary current of the Second International, Lenin not only defended the purity of Marxism, but also enriched and developed this scientific weapon of the proletariat. Consequently, Marxism was raised to a new stage, that of Leninism. The Great October Socialist Revolution is a living proof of the victory of Leninism.

Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the class struggle doesn't disappear, but merely changes its forms after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Furthermore, he taught the proletariat that in the protracted class struggle in the Soviet Union, the

bourgeoisie, old and new, devised ways and means to turn its restoration hopes into attempts at restoration.

Stalin's struggles against Trotsky, Bukharin, & Co. were also clear testimony to the fact that alien elements, elements that represent the bourgeoisie, continue to wage open and hidden struggles to destroy socialism from within and restore capitalism. It was he who aptly pointed out: "The easiest way to capture a fortress is from within".¹

The revival of revisionism in the post WW II period occurred under specific historical conditions, among which were:

- relatively rapid economic recovery of US imperialism; coupled with the imperialist policy of aggression and war, particularly nuclear blackmail by US imperialism.
- relaxation of vigilance after the anti-fascist war, giving rise to reformist tendencies such as 'socialism without sacrifice', 'quieter' and 'easier' roads, etc.
- owing to the nature of the struggle against fascism and the emphasis of this particular period on democratic tasks, there occurred a shortcoming from lack of adequate linking the immediate tasks with the long range, the democratic struggle with the struggle for socialism.

Such being some of the specific historical conditions for the revival of revisionism. The Moscow Declaration of 1957 pointed out, "The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source".

As is known, three years after the death of Stalin, at the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, Khrushchov carried out a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat, a coup d'etat that was not a mere change of personalities, but one that established the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. At this Congress, Khrushchov carried out a surprise attack on Stalin.

Violating Lenin's integral teachings about the interrelationship of leaders, party, class and masses, Khrushchov, under the pretext of combatting "the cult of the individual", at one stroke negated Stalin's glorious life as a great proletarian teacher.

Khrushchov's abuse of Stalin was a great insult to the Soviet people, the CPSU, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the international communist movement, and to Marxism-Leninism. Marxist-Leninists, of course, do not deny Stalin's shortcomings that were bound to arise in the course of thirty years of guidance of the dictatorship of

the proletariat. In their correct appraisal of Stalin, they however, recognize him as a great proletarian hero, a revolutionary paragon, who, following in the footsteps of Marx, Engels and Lenin, defended, creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism.

At the same time, Khrushchov put forward his infamous "Three Peacefuls" – peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition, and peaceful transition – which formed the main content of his revisionist line. Khrushchov trumpeted that peaceful coexistence is the general line of foreign policy for the socialist countries and also is the general line for all Communist parties. This totally violates Lenin's teachings. Lenin's foreign policy principles – in a nutshell – consist of the following three interrelated and indivisible aspects:

- to develop relations of mutual assistance and cooperation among socialist countries;
- to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed classes, peoples, and nations, and;
- to strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

Whereas Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence applied to relations between countries of different social systems, the Khrushchov revisionist clique distorted its content and extended it to apply to the relations between oppressed and oppressor classes, oppressed and oppressor nations.

The Khrushchov clique also peddled its so-called "peaceful competition" which it said is sufficient to bring down the "entire system of capitalist relationship"; that it is enough to "prove the economic superiority of the socialist system "and then there would be a "world-wide peaceful transition to socialism." Under the pretense that "radical changes" have taken place in the world situation they peddled their so-called "peaceful transition" to socialism through the "parliamentary road". It is clear that these revisionists completely negated the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the state and revolution and on the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution.

Khrushchov also negated Lenin's teaching on imperialism. He said imperialism is to be "peacefully competed" with and not to be struggled against and destroyed. He denied the aggressive and bellicose nature of imperialism. He preached and practised collaboration with and capitulation to imperialism.

He also pushed a revisionist line on the question of war; fundamentally violating Lenin's scientific thesis that war is the continuation of politics by other means, and that imperialist war is the continuation of imperialist politics by other means. Khrushchov called for a world "without weapons, without armies and without wars" at a time when imperialism and the exploitative system exists. The Khrushchov revisionist clique made no distinction between just and unjust wars, between revolutionary violence and counterrevolutionary violence. And in fact, they argued that just wars of national liberation could spark into "international conflagration", into "a thermonuclear war". Thus, even though they never fail to mention themselves as "supporters" of national liberation movements, "natural ally", etc., in actuality, they castigated the raging struggles of the peoples and nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Don't we all remember when the Khrushchov revisionists said that the Algerian question was France's "internal affair"?

As has been exposed time and again, the betrayal of the modern revisionists has been of an all-round manner. Not only did they liquidate the correct path towards the seizure of state power by the proletariat, but they also negated the necessity for the proletariat and its communist party to exercise its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie under socialism.

It was V.I. Lenin who defended and developed the teachings of Marx and Engels on the necessity for the proletariat to smash the existing bourgeois state apparatus and to replace it with its own state – the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is in conformity with the Marxist teachings on the state, according to which the state has been the instrument for the dictatorship of one class over another for as long as classes have been in existence. And socialist society is no exception. In socialist society, the state is an instrument in the hands of the proletariat to exercise democracy among the people and dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

Lenin says "the abolition of classes requires a long, difficult and stubborn *class struggle*, which, *after* the overthrow of the power of capital, *after* the destruction of the bourgeois state, *after* the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, *does not disappear* (as the vulgar representatives of the old Socialism and Social Democracy imagine), but merely changes its forms and in many respects becomes more fierce".²

The twenty-second Congress of the CPSU, which was held in 1961, saw the complete systematization of the revisionist line of Khrushchov. This Congress adopted the infamous "two wholes" – the so-called "Party of the Whole People" and "State of the Whole People".

The CPSU programme approved at this Congress was the codification and concentrated expression of this revisionist line. Khrushchov denied the existence of classes and class struggle and therefore the necessity for the proletariat to exercise its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. And this is the essence of Khrushchov's theory of "State of the Whole People" which attempts to cover up the class character of the state which has degenerated from the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Khrushchov's cover-up of the class character of the state is no different from the age-old practices of the bourgeoisie. The same is also true of Khrushchov's "Party of the Whole People". The so-called "Party of the Whole People" is a denial of the class character of political parties and an attempt to cover up the bourgeois character of the CPSU, which degenerated as a result of the betrayal of the Khrushchov-Brezhnev revisionist clique.

It is common knowledge that every political party represents the interest of a definite class and is therefore the instrument of this class. History has known no supra-class political parties. And the party of the proletariat is no exception.

The proletariat needs its Marxist-Leninist party to seize state power and to establish its dictatorship. Under socialsim it also needs the party just like the state, in the protracted class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Khrushchov's denial of the role and the necessity of the party of the proletariat is nothing but another counterrevolutionary scheme in further systematizing his stockpiles of revisionist arsenal.

This, in brief, is the counterrevolutionary essence of modern revisionism.

However, we also need to point out that Khrushchov's revisionism was not able to ride roughshod over Marxism-Leninism, as it had wished.

From the outset, genuine Marxist-Leninists had waged a tit-for-tat struggle against modern revisionism. Of marked significance stands the struggle waged by the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania. Using Marxism-Leninism as their guide, the CCP and the PLA waged a most resolute, a most daring and unflinching struggle against modern revisionism internationally, while firmly consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in their own countries. They have drawn a clear line of demarcation and have correctly summed up the essence and nature of modern revisionism, headquartered in Moscow. In struggle against modern revisionism, Marxism-Leninism has been defended, enriched and developed. These days, anyone who claims

allegiance to Marxism-Leninism can hardly claim independence from the correct verdict passed on modern revisionism.

III

Comrades,

The Ethiopian masses, through their own experience, are learning that the Soviet Union today is an imperialist state engaged in aggression and expansion everywhere and desperately contending for world hegemony.

How was it possible for the first socialist state created by Lenin and Stalin to degenerate into a social-imperialist state? Is it admissible (in theory) for a socialist state to revert back to capitalism, or is this impossible? Will a country remain socialist even after revisionist elements usurp supreme leadership in the Party and the State and push a revisionist line in all fields?

Comrades,

These questions can be elucidated only in the light of Marxism-Leninism, and especially in the light of Mao Tse-tung's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. When we examine these questions in the light of this theory, we will be able to understand that classes and class struggle exist in every socialist society, that there is a possibility of capitalist restoration in the course of this struggle, and that this possibility becomes an actuality when revisionist elements usurp supreme leadership in the Party and State and implement revisionist policies in the political, economic and other fields. And, with respect to the Soviet Union, we will be able to understand that the degeneration into a social-imperialist state was mainly a product of the usurpation of the political power of the proletariat by representatives of the Soviet bourgeoisie, i.e. the Khrushchov-Brezhnev revisionist clique.

Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." How is it possible for the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to continue even after the bourgeoisie has been overthrown and expropriated and even after the nationalization of industry and the collectivization of agriculture is completed?

First, although the bourgeoisie is overthrown and deprived of its political and economic power, its remnants are still around and will

certainly try to stage a comeback in every possible way.

Second, the petty-bourgeoisie (both rural and urban) undergoing reform retain spontaneous capitalist tendencies which could engender new bourgeois elements.

Third, in view of the existence of the force of habit of the old society and also in view of the existence of bourgeois right in distribution and exchange, degenerate elements and new bourgeois elements will be constantly engendered among the ranks of the working class and Communist Party members as well as among personnel engaged in various fields: cultural, educational, economic, technological and others.

So in sum, the existence of remnants of the old bourgeoisie and the existence of the soil for the continued emergence and re-emergence of new-bourgeois elements mean that classes and class struggle will continue to exist under socialism.

In socialist society, the class struggle still focuses on the question of political power. As Mao pointed out: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counterrevolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

Stalin's struggle against Trotsky, Bukharin and other such elements in the Party was a manifestation of the existence of classes and class struggle in the Soviet Union. But as the first state of the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet Union was inexperienced in handling the question of how to consolidate the dictatorship and prevent capitalist restoration. In these circumstances and after Stalin's death, Khrushchov, a capitalist-roader in power hiding in the Soviet Communist Party, was able to usurp supreme power, maliciously slander Stalin and implement a revisionist line step by step.

As we stated earlier — and this must be re-emphasized — the usurpation of supreme Party and State power by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev revisionist renegade clique was not a mere change of personalities but a grave event which turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and which paved the way for the overthrow of socialism and the restoration of capitalism. As Mao pointed out: "The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie." Further, "The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type." These brilliant theses of Mao Tse-tung penetratingly reveal the dire consequences of the counterrevolutionary coup d'état carried

out by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique and clearly point out the class essence and social roots of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, which is today engaged in an all-out aggression and expansion around the world.

Comrades,

We will now look into the actual restoration process in some detail.

The counterrevolutionary coup d'état and the seizure of supreme leadership of the CPSU by the Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionist renegade clique deprived the Soviet working class of its vanguard, the genuine communist party guided by Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet working class was disarmed ideologically, politically and organizationally. In order to facilitate carrying out their revisionist line and restore capitalism, the renegade clique undertook a series of purges directed primarily against staunch proletarian revolutionary fighters, upholders of the cause of Lenin and Stalin.

Under the smokescreen "party of the whole people", the Soviet revisionist renegade clique opened party membership far and wide to counterrevolutionary elements, kulaks, old and new bourgeoisie, activated landlords, deserters of the Great Patriotic War, criminals, speculators, careerists, hooligans, and in short, all types of monsters and demons.

The once glorious CPSU, the proletarian vanguard, the party of revolution, the party of Leninism has, as a result of revisionist betrayal, changed its proletarian class character and degenerated into a bourgeois party.

Today the CPSU has a tight grip over all mass organization such as trade unions and turned them from Schools of Communism, from being vast arenas for the working people to exercise the broadest and deepest democracy, proletarian democracy, as was the case during the time of Lenin and Stalin into instruments for all-round persecution, plunder, exploitation of the working people in the service of the new Czars.

The CPSU has a tight grip over the Soviet army, the militia and security services. Today the Soviet army is no more the glorious Red Army of Lenin and Stalin; it is a bourgeoisie army and an aggressor army. Today the state security systems are no more an effective instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat to protect the Socialist Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin from external and internal enemies; now the state security system haunts the working people day in and out tying them hand, foot and mouth. It is also an instrument for worldwide espionage, infiltration and sabotage in service of the new Czars.

To sum up, the CPSU is no more an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is an instrument of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is an instrument of the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie to enforce a barbarous fascist dictatorship, to ruthlessly exploit the working people and carry out aggression and expansion abroad and contend for world hegemony.

The rise to power of the Soviet revisionist clique meant that degenerate elements from among leading cadres of the party and state who stand in opposition to the interests of the working class were not only kept in the party and fostered, but in fact, systematically given high party and state powers.

Moreover, bourgeois and petit-bourgeois ideologies and force of habit which constantly surround the proletariat and try to corrode it and its party were not only left unchecked but, in fact, given free play.

In socialist society, bourgeois right is gradually restricted. The Soviet revisionists, however, chose to consciously release and leave unchecked in a big way bourgeois right, thus rapidly accelerating the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between manual and mental labor. They went all-out in increasing the gap in incomes between them and their cohorts on the one hand and the vast masses of the working people on the other hand. They gave very high salaries according to power and allegiance, rapidly corrupting leading cadres into becoming bourgeois elements. The Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegades pushed revisionist line and policies which greatly activated and mobilized many new and old bourgeois elements. The forces of capitalism increased at great speed.

This way and more, step by step, and in a systematic manner, the greatest scabs in history—Khrushchov-Brezhnev and Co.—realized their evil ambition of degenerating the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

In the spheres of ideology and culture, the Khrushchov-Brezhnev revisionist renegade clique pushed its bourgeois line frantically. Under the guise of "culture of the whole people" the revisionist chieftain Brezhnev has been pushing bourgeois culture, literature and art in service of the new ruling class. Great Russian chauvinism, and Pan-Slavism is preached. The imperialist aggression of the old Czars is justified in literature and art in every manner in order to justify present Czar's actions.

In the sphere of ownership, the socialist system of ownership has been transformed into bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist system of ownership. By pushing their revisionist line and effecting a series of revisionist policies they fully restored the capitalist relations of production.

Khrushchov introduced "economic reforms" which were followed by Brezhnev's "new economic system". The black thread connecting both is that profit is in command in all undertakings, that the principle of obtaining maximum profit became the ultimate aim of production. Moreover, the managers of enterprises are given extensive power to run the firms along capitalist lines and thus effect the degeneration of the state-run enterprises into firms under the ownership of the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie.

In the Soviet Union the working class is not only deprived of its means of production but its labor power has been transformed into a commodity. Furthermore, no sooner had the Soviet revisionists seized power than they encouraged the maximum operation of commodity production, which they try to demagogically cover up in their desire to pave the way for capitalist restoration.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that, during the transition from capitalism to communism, i.e., in socialist society, the laws of commodity-money relations do operate. It is also true that these commodity-money relations must be restricted in their scope and spheres of operation and are only utilized insofar as they play a positive role in socialist revolution and construction. The Soviet revisionists, however, said in their 22nd CPSU programme that "In Communist construction it is necessary to fully utilize the commodity-money relations." Using this as a smokescreen, the Soviet revisionists pushed for a maximum operation of commodity production. The fact that the working class is forced to sell its labour power as a commodity after having been deprived of the ownership of the means of production and the fact that commodity production is the general form of production in the Soviet Union shows that capitalism has been completely restored. Because of the conditions under which present day Soviet capitalism (that is, as a result of all-round restoration) came into being; the main and overwhelmingly dominant form of capitalism in the Soviet Union is state monopoly capitalism.³ Who controls and runs the state monopoly capitalism? It is the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie as a whole with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the head.

In the Soviet Union, the entire state apparatus and the entire wealth of the Society is in the hands of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class. The bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the head are ruthlessly exploiting the working people. One means employed by the Soviet bourgeoisie to facilitate higher exploitation of the working class is the evil "Shechekino experiment" which is a blueprint of how to squeeze out every bit of energy from the workers by increasing labor intensity, and through threat of dismissal from jobs. Consequently, hundreds of thousands of

workers have been dismissed from their jobs. For instance, 292 enterprises which applied the "Shechekino experiment" fired 70,000 workers in a few years. Another means of exploitation devised by the Soviet bourgeoisie is to reap huge surplus value under the pretext of "material incentive". For instance, in a certain plant a worker had to create more than 16 rubles of additional surplus value for the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie, in order to get one ruble of "bonus" for himself. Another means is to exploit the working people through high taxes. Statistics show that every worker is forced to pay tax on the average 12% of the annual wage. In 1975 alone, the working people of the Soviet Union were robbed of 8.4 billion rubles by the Soviet bourgeoisie. The Soviet revisionists have effected the degeneration of the socialist relations of distribution into capitalist relations of distribution. The bourgeoisie appropriates for itself very high salaries, often 20 and even more than 100 times the monthly wage of the workers. It also leads an extravagant and decadent life through wealth acquired at the expense of the working people, by means of high bonuses, prizes and other privileges.

The Soviet bourgeoisie also resorts to employing its political and economic power in order to amass wealth through embezzlement, graft, speculation, extortion, etc. For instance, the manager of a building trust spent more than 400,000 rubles building a "paradise-like resort" where he employed 17 servants and maids. And in another instance, a member of the C.C. of the revisionist CPSU managed to squander half-a-million rubles. It is no wonder that the Soviet revisionist chieftain, Brezhnev, said a few years ago: "All of us, from the central to local organizations, must learn the complex art of money making."

In addition to the dominant and principal role played by State monopoly capitalism, there is also private capitalism in the Soviet Union. This is especially so in the countryside. The private economy in the Soviet Union today supplies one third to one half of farm and animal products. For instance, "personal plots" accounted for more than 60% of the vegetables, 80% of fruit, etc., of the Soviet Union's needs. Statistics show that the number of man-hours spent in these "personal plots" accounts for one third of all man-hours spent in agriculture and one tenth of that of the whole economy. There are also "underground" private capitalists and "underground" farmers who invest capital, organize production, employ labor, obtain materials and machinery. Another form of the private economy is obtained through black-marketeering, speculations, profiteering, embezzlement, etc.

The Khrushchov-Brezhnev revisionist renegade clique have also degenerated the socialist economy into capitalist and state monopoly capitalist economy. This is an inevitable process that goes hand-in-hand

with the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat, degeneration of the superstructure and the economic base.

In order to run their state monopoly capitalism, the Soviet revisionists have introduced industrial enterprises and large-scale combines operating under capitalist principles and are in essence identical to the monopoly organization such as trusts, big concerns and syndicates of capital imperialism. Combines are the basic form of the monopoly organization of the Soviet Union, and it is formed by merging the big enterprises through the use of state coercion.

The establishment of combines has greatly increased the concentration of capital and production. For instance, there were 200,000 industrial enterprises in the 1950's; by 1974 they were reduced to 48,000; whereas the percentage of big industrial enterprises increased four-fold in the period 1960 to 1974.

Managers and directors are fully responsible to the state enterprises; they operate as agents and members of the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie, issue orders to workers; they are entitled to "take possession, use and dispose of" the property of the enterprise, buy or sell the means of production. These managers can fix plans for production and sales and freely produce goods that can bring in high profits. They can dismiss and punish workers at will. They can fix workers' wages and reduce them as they desire. In short, the relationship between the manager and the worker is between exploiter and exploited, oppressor and oppressed, ruler and ruled.

The Soviet collective farms have also changed their colour as a result of the usurpation of party and state power by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

Now the socialist collective economy has degenerated into those of capitalist economy. Collective farm managers can at will dispose of farm property and funds, buy or sell tractors, agricultural machines and other means of production. Farm lands can be leased, and farm products are disposed of at will by the managers. The capitalist law of value has become production regulator. Socialist management has been replaced by capitalist management, and profit making is the driving motor. The relationship between farm managers and collective farm members is that between employer and employee, exploiter and exploited, oppressor and oppressed, ruler and ruled.

The grave consequence of all-round capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union are operating in full force. The Socialist productive forces have been destroyed; there are now capitalist productive forces.

Industrial development is one-sided. There is militarization of the national economy. In the Soviet Union over one fifth of the national income is allocated for military expenditure. Moreover, 60% of Soviet

industrial enterprises are geared for military purposes. Consequently, agriculture is backward, whereas there is decline and crisis in industry. As a result, there is an acute shortage of supplies in the market and are insufficient. Retail prices of major foodstuffs are constantly increasing. The reason why the scarcity of commodities on the state markets is a common occurrence is that the Soviet revisionists practice the guns over butter policy.

Agricultural production has deteriorated. In 7 out of 11 years since 1964, there has been a decrease in agricultural production. Average annual rate of growth of agricultural output decreased, falling from 4.9% in the 1950's to 3% in the 1960's and only 0.9% in the 1970's. The clown Khrushchov bluffed at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU in 1961: "We shall, in the main, have built a communist society within 20 years." Scarcely a couple of years passed since he said this and he was beset with large scale agricultural crisis. A little more than a decade later his loyal successor, the revisionist chieftain Brezhnev, was faced with a situation much graver than this. There was a shortfall of 80 million metric tons of grain in 1975. Grain production in 1975 was 40% of that in 1973; whereas per capita output was less than that of 1913! One could go on and on mentioning such statistics.

There is heavy internal and external debt. By 1974 the Government owed the Soviet citizens \$145,400 million. From Western imperialist countries the Soviet Union received \$18,200 million in loans alone. In two years from 1974 to 1975 alone, the Soviet Union got \$10 billion in long term bank loans.⁴

In the Soviet Union, there is large scale unemployment. The Soviet revisionists put the guise of "Mobility of Cadres", but they are in fact migration of jobless workers and other working people in search of new employers to sell their labour power. These constitute 20% of the workers in industrial enterprises and 30% in the building industry.

The working class, the peasantry and other labouring people are brutally exploited and repressed. There is a vicious, terrorist and fascist repressive apparatus ranging from the Army, militia, local "people's patrols" to the notorious state security system, the KGB. Those who oppose the rule of the Soviet revisionists are subject to "mental asylum", or banished on charges of "defaming the Soviet state and social order". There are also concentration camps, "labour reform" camps, prisons, "sanitoriums for lunatics", etc. There are in the Soviet Union at least 1000 large concentration camps with total number of political prisoners over a million.

There is intensified national oppression and the Soviet Union today has again become a prison of nations as a result of the Soviet revisionist betrayal. Big Russian chauvinism and Pan-Slavism is systematically

practised. They carry out a policy of Russification widely. Under the pretext of "cadres exchange", party members from oppressed nations are sent to the Russian Federative State to be Russified, whereas zealous chauvinists are sent to their place where they practice Russification. The language of the oppressed nations is being increasingly relegated to secondary positions, and its development hindered. Russian is made a required reading and a means of official correspondence in most of these oppressed nations. Under the pretext of "regional division of labour" some regions and Union Republics which contain non-Russian peoples are made dumping grounds for industrial markets while they provide agriculture products, thus hindering their balanced development in industry and agriculture. Those who resist national oppression are brutally repressed.

There is double oppression of women in present-day Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionists try to justify the exclusion of women from production and confine them to household chores by pushing their revisionist line on the question of the emancipation of women. They say production work and household work "complement each other", "both tasks are equally important", they are "dual jobs", etc. They even resort to bare faced lying in order to practice oppression. "Ninety-four percent of the women consider such household roles as child-rearing, the organization of family consumption, and the exercise of decision making functions in the family to be most important to them . . ." ⁵ It is clear that by advocating household chores are "most important to women", they are, in fact, advocating the perpetuation of double oppression of women.

While the bourgeoisie amasses the wealth of the society, the labouring people are subjected to degradation, misery and impoverishment. Soviet society today, as a result of the all-round capitalist restoration, is inflicted with the evils of a bourgeois-imperialist society. Bourgeois ideology in all forms and all ways masked by "allegiance to Leninism" is daily forced on the working people.

There is widespread moral degradation, such as alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, etc. The Soviet Union has the highest per capita consumption of alcohol in the world. The youth is not only becoming alcoholic, but also, there is wide-spread drug addiction. 75% of the boys in the eighth grade drink alcohol. Hashish and opium plants are grown in the various parts of the Soviet Union. Moscow is famous as a center for distribution of narcotics to other countries. There is juvenile delinquency. There is a great fetishism for Western reactionary culture. Foreign records cost up to 100 rubles each on the black market. There is widespread prostitution. Leningrad registered 16,000 prostitutes.

Divorce rate in 1972 was ten times that of 1950. The Soviet Union is one of the countries with the highest divorce rate.

We have seen the grave consequences of the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union as a result of the usurption of Party and State power by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev revisionist renegade clique.

However, we are infinitely confident that the great Soviet people, the great land of the Soviet Union, which reared the Proletarian teachers Lenin and Stalin, will wage a second edition of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. The Soviet people will re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat on the ruins of new Czars.

IV

The usurption of party and state power by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique has transformed the first socialist state in the world into a social-imperialist power. The Soviet revisionists exposed their real nature with their naked invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

However much the Soviet revisionists trumpet their propaganda alleging their theirs is a socialist country, their theory and practice and real life shows that they are, in fact, socialist-in-words and imperialist-in-deeds. Lenin says that, "We judge a person not by what he says or thinks of himself but by his actions."

Present-day Soviet Union is governed by the laws of imperialism. State monopoly capitalism is the solid economic basis of Soviet social-imperialism; the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class is its class basis. And, the bureaucrat-monoploy bourgeoisie, the kulaks, old and new bourgeoisie, the activated landlords and counterrevolutionaries form the social basis of Soviet social-imperialism.

Soviet state monopoly capital in its drive for maximum profit, and in its desire to shift its crises onto others, has intensified its exploitation of the working class at home and carried out aggression and exploitation abroad. This is an inevitable outcome of Soviet state monopoly capital which is the economic root-cause of social-imperialism, for as Lenin has pointed out: "Monopolies, oligarchy, the striving for domination instead of striving for liberty, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by a handful of the richest or most powerful nations".⁶

This explains why Soviet revisionism is running hither and tither to grab raw material resources, seize outlets for investment, scramble for markets and strive for world hegemony. This explains why Soviet revisionism brutally overrun Czechoslovakia, is siphoning off super-profits as well as militarily controlling Eastern Europe, is carrying out naked plunder and exploitation in the countries of Asia, Africa and

Latin America, and is running amuck for raw materials and spheres of influence everywhere.

Under the signboard of 'aid' (which is both military and economic), the Soviet social-imperialists actually carry out plunder, exploitation, infiltration, and expansion. Lenin says, "To the numerous 'old' motives of colonial policy, finance capital has added the struggle for the sources of raw materials, for the export of capital, for 'spheres of influence' . . . for economic territory in general."⁷

Lenin points out, "Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of *capital*"⁸. Soviet revisionists' 'aid' is nothing but imperialist capital export, which undertakes multi-fold exploitation. Firstly, they get fat interest on the loan given as 'aid'. Secondly, they get huge profits from commodity export that follows this 'aid', namely, the loan recipient country is forced to buy outworn Soviet equipment and goods at high prices. Thirdly, when the 'aid project' is completed, the recipient country must repay the loan either in foreign exchange, or with cheap raw materials, or with the products the enterprises turn out, or with a combination of all three. Fourthly, Soviet revisionist "specialists", and "advisers" take a substantial chunk of the loan in the form of high salaries, allowances and all sorts of bourgeois-aristocratic privileges which the recipient country is forced to bear.

The so-called Soviet revisionist military "aid" enables fabulous profits to be reaped by them selling their outdated arms. They use military "aid" to grab the recipient country's important raw materials. For instance, they demanded oil in exchange for arms in the Middle East. They in turn sold the oil in European markets, thus reaping hundreds of millions of dollars profit. The Soviet military "advisers" seek to control the military command, supply and training of the recipient country and they demand the right to use ports, bases, etc.

The Soviet social-imperialists exploit the countries of Eastern Europe and the developing countries by buying cheap and selling dear. This trade by exchange of unequal values enables them to raise their export prices 5 to 25% higher than world market prices while the Soviet import prices are made 10 to 15% lower.

There is also the so-called "joint enterprises" which are Soviet revisionists' transnational corporations. They export capital and form these "joint enterprises" to facilitate their expansion and infiltration. Under the guise of "economic cooperation" and "joint stock enterprises", they directly invest abroad and expand their trade and set up banks, insurance companies, fishery fleets, etc.

The Soviet social imperialists have concocted a whole set of "theories" known as the "Brezhnev Doctrine" to realize their

hegemony and to carry out expansion, aggression, plunder and neo-colonialism.

The theory of "limited sovereignty" is a fascist "theory" whose essence could be summed up:

"The theory of 'limited sovereignty' is the theory of great power chauvinism and expansionism, the theory by means of which the new Soviet imperialists try to extinguish any sovereignty of the other peoples, and to create for themselves the 'sovereign right' to intervene wherever and whenever they want to . . . with their 'limited sovereignty' they are trying to legalize the right of the strongest to oppress the weak, of the biggest to gobble up the small. It is a theory for the justification of imperialist aggression."⁹

The "theory of limited sovereignty" is the theoretical justification for the complete military, political and economic subjugation of most of the East European countries. The Soviet social-imperialists do not stop at that. They have gone further and said the "theory of limited sovereignty" is "applicable to the developing countries". In a vicious attempt to extend their subjugation and expand their neo-colonial empire; they also trumpet the "theory of limited sovereignty over resources." According to this gangster logic "Although Arab oil is Arab property in form, it is actually international property" and that "sovereignty over natural resources depends to a greater extent upon the industrial capability of utilizing these resources by the developing countries."¹⁰ This is the jungle law of what is mine is mine, what is yours is yours in form, but mine in essence.

The theory of "International dictatorship" is another fascist theory that provides the "theoretical justification" for military intervention and occupation. The Soviet social-imperialists, in order to realize their neo-colonial ambitions, say that the relationship between Moscow and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America can be forged in the framework of "international worker-peasant alliance" and thus Moscow can exercise "International dictatorship of the proletariat" over them. They also trumpet the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America should follow the "non-capitalist road to socialism" in order to facilitate their neo-colonial expansion.

Another theory is the theory of "socialist community" which tries to justify the tightly controlled neo-colonial empire of the Soviet Union. The ambition of the new Czars is to realize a colonial empire. In fact, they have indicated they want to go further than this. They want to turn the countries of the "socialist community" into "union republics of U.S.S.R." This is what they mean when they say the

formation of "big fraternal community of socialist countries" is "in principle" the same as was "the merging of all Soviet Republics into a unified Soviet Union".

The theory of "our interests are involved" is the theory that justifies the global policy of aggression of Soviet social-imperialism Brezhnev said at the 25th Soviet Revisionist Party Congress that the Soviet Union's "activity on the International scene is exceptionally broad" and that it has now to "reckon in one way or another, with the state of affairs on virtually every spot on the globe." Thus they have concocted this "theory" to interfere, subvert, expand and realize their world hegemony.

The Soviet social-imperialists try to present the Committee for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) as a "model of international socialist economic contacts"; a "model of fraternal economic cooperation." But is it really so? Nothing can be further from the truth. On the contrary, CMEA is an instrument of the USSR to control, exploit, and plunder other CMEA countries and to conduct neo-colonization. Through supra-national organizations such as "International metallurgical Cooperative Organization", "International Investment Bank", etc., the Soviet social-imperialists gain firm grip on the vital national economic sectors of these countries.

In 1970, U.S.S.R. accounted for 80% of Mongolia's, more than 50% of Bulgaria's, and 40% of GDR's of their total foreign trade. From 1955 to 1973 the Soviet Union squeezed \$19 billion through unequal exchanges in foreign trade alone. The Soviet Union sold atomic reactors to CMEA countries at four times international market. Annual loss suffered by GDR from trading with the USSR is over 2 billion marks. The Soviet Union traded Mongolia one bicycle for four horses and one toy lamb for one live lamb!

Under the pretext of the "International Division of Labour" the Soviet Union has in the past decade gradually monopolized the supply of fuel and raw materials of the CMEA countries. Thus the Soviet Union accounted for an average of three-fourths of their oil, 80 to 90% of their iron-ore and more than three-fifths of their cotton. In recent years, Bulgaria alone imports 90% of total oil imports, 100% of natural gas, 98.6% of electricity and 87.5% of its iron ore from the Soviet Union.

Under the guise of "international division of labour" and "economic integration" the CMEA countries are forced to specialize in production required and/or assigned by the Soviet Union. Thus Poland is assigned shipbuilding industry, Czechoslovakia makes railway rolling stock, GDR produces mining equipment, Bulgaria produces

vegetables and fruit, and Mongolia specializes in livestock industry.

The Soviet revisionists plunder rare materials of the CMEA members. Thus exploitation of uranium ore in Czechoslovakia is under the control of the USSR. They also control 43% of Poland's zinc exports.

The CMEA countries are dumping ground for the Soviet Union's shoddy commodities. Thus greater than 50% of outworn Soviet machinery and equipment are dumped in these countries.

The Soviet social-imperialists employ forced labour from CMEA countries. More than 40,000 Bulgarians and tens of thousands of East Germans, Czechoslovaks are working under forced labour conditions in the Soviet Union.

The Warsaw Treaty Organization is Soviet social-imperialism's weapon for the enslavement of the peoples of Eastern Europe and for aggression. The Soviet social-imperialists say the internal function of the Warsaw Treaty Organization is to "strengthen" the armed forces and "take collective measures to prevent counterrevolutionary activities aimed at the socialist countries. For example, all the countries in the socialist community offered fraternal assistance to the Czech people in 1968." The internal function of the Warsaw Treaty Organization is thus to conduct brutal aggression as in Czechoslovakia if any of these countries refuse Moscow's rule. The external function of Warsaw Treaty Organization is to serve as an aggressive military block for the hegemonistic aims of Soviet social-imperialism. The joint command of the Warsaw pact armed forces is under the tight grip of the Soviet Union. Under the guise of military "advisers", Soviet military personnel are permanently placed in other Warsaw pact countries which enables them to control the armed forces of these countries.

Under the pretext of "international division of labour" and "coordination of military and economic plans," the Soviet social-imperialists also control arms production in some Warsaw Pact countries.

The USSR has three-fifths of its ground forces, three-fourths of its air force, and more than three-fourths of its surface naval ships stationed in the land and waters of Eastern Europe.

Under the signboard of "economic aid" they exploit and plunder the developing countries. This disguised form of capital export has been extended into direct investments in these countries by setting up "joint stock enterprises".

Under the guise of "natural ally" which gives "selfless aid", the Soviet social-imperialists carry out extensive economic infiltration, political interference and control. From 1954 to 1972 the Soviet Union

exported \$13 billion to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Soviet revisionists in the last decade have through "aid", etc., plundered minerals, industrial raw materials and farm products of the developing countries. From 1960-1971 the Soviet Union robbed these countries of \$6.7 billion. They also use "aid" and "economic cooperation" as means to control the industrial sectors of the developing countries. Thus India's 30% steel, 60% oil and 95% heavy machinery are controlled by the Soviet revisionists.

Under the pretext of "international division of labour" they trumpet "industrial Soviet Union" and "agricultural Asia, Africa and Latin America" should exchange minerals and agricultural products for their outworn machinery. Thus they exchange machinery for oil from the Middle East, for copper from Chile, for tin from Bolivia and for meat from East Africa.

Let us take India, which they trumpet as their "natural ally". Loans to India since 1954 amount to about \$2 billion. By the time India clears these debts, USSR is paid 565.7% of original loan. This amounts to additional \$10 billion she has to pay. Under the pretext of devaluation of the rupee, the USSR forced India to revalue unpaid India's debt and pay an extra \$533 million.

To take advantage of raw materials and cheap labour, India has been forced to set up factories to meet Soviet demands. Thus there is a garment factory, leather factory, a light bulb industry, etc. and the products are shipped to Moscow.

V

Comrades,

Inter-imperialist contradictions exist as long as imperialism exists. At all times there is cut-throat competition and fierce struggle amongst imperialist powers for the control of markets, natural resources and strategic areas all over the world.

The Soviet revisionists too are governed by no other law but by the laws of imperialism. "'World domination' is, to put it briefly, the substance of imperialist policy, of which imperialist war is the continuation".¹¹

The imperialists divide the world "not out of any particular malice", but as Lenin said, "because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to obtain profits".

There are also times when the imperialists unite. This unity is only to oppose revolution, national liberation, and for the furtherance of the

division and redivision of spheres of influence. But as Lenin pointed out, their unity is relative and temporary, whereas their contention is absolute.

As we can see, of all the imperialist powers in the world today, objectively it is only U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism which stand out as imperialist superpowers.

Facts show that the two superpowers cannot be compared with the rest of the imperialist countries; for it is the two superpowers alone who each have:

- amassed the greatest amount of atomic and nuclear weapons with their hands on the trigger,
- under their control the greatest military force unrivalled by any other country
- unparalleled espionage and subversive international network such as the KGB and the CIA.
- a much bigger production than any other country.
- the largest number of military bases all over the world, and whose naval fleets are to be found in all the high seas.
- and who each try to control, subvert, bully, aggress, dominate and dictate many states, and who compete for spheres of influence all over the globe.

Hence it is the two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, who are the biggest oppressors and ruthless exploiters of mankind today.

Through their own experience, the people of the world have long known the U.S. imperialist superpower; who they are, and where they stand in matters of revolution, national liberation and independence.

But too often it is the other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism, which speculates with the past prestige of the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin, which hides behind the mask of socialism, that has temporarily succeeded in deceiving people. It has tried to pass itself off as a "friend" and "natural ally" of national liberation and independence.

However, facts have repeatedly proven otherwise. The Soviet Union, far from being a "natural ally", is on the contrary, an arch enemy of the very people it purports to support.

In several places, the USSR, in unison with the U.S., has suppressed just struggles. The case of Soviet collaboration with the U.S. in aiding the Lon Nol clique in Kampuchea, and their hand and glove activities in support of the Zionist occupationists in the Middle East (i.e., while the U.S. supplies Israel with armaments and funds, the Soviet Union provides the much needed manpower under the guise of Jewish emigrants) are only a few of living testimonies that are still fresh in our minds.

Since it is the laws of imperialism that they are governed by, there also exists fierce superpower contention beyond their collaboration. Thus the Soviet Union, too is locked in fierce rivalry with the United States. As a result of its ambition to dominate the world, the Soviet Union's formerly planned socialist economy has been dislocated and much emphasis has been given to armament production. A few facts should help to illustrate this point:

- the Soviet Union's 1974 military expenditure was nearly 4 times that of 1960.
- the strength of Soviet armed troops in active service has risen from 3 million to 4.2 million
- in the past 13 years the number of ICBMS have increased nearly 22 times.
- It has accumulated a large arsenal of strategic and conventional weapons.
- Soviet military shipments to other countries have multiplied more than 70 times in the past 15 years.

These facts are helpful to show the nature of the Soviet Union, not just as an imperialist power alone, but as a rising superpower feverishly working to dominate the world.

Lenin says "modern war is born of imperialism" and that under imperialism, world war is inevitable. Today the rivalry between the U.S. and the USSR is the source of a new world war.

Consistent with the laws of imperialism as taught by Lenin, the extraction of high monopoly profits forces the two superpowers to engage in aggression, expansion and to compete for the division and redivision of the world. This leads to the rivalry whereby one superpower tries to weaken and undermine the hegemony of the other; and as Lenin said of imperialist rivalry and expansion, this could only

take place at the expense of others, at the enrichment of one at the expense of another. The issue could only be settled by force — and, accordingly, war between the world marauders becomes inevitable.

Thus all the talk about “detente” and the endless “security” conferences is a sheer fraud designed to create illusion and to lull the vigilance of the people of the world.

Have not the two superpowers “successfully” concluded numerous SALT agreements such as the one in 1963, 1972 and 1974? Following these sham accords, haven't we witnessed their feverish arms race at a rate hitherto unknown?

All the military hardware manufactured by the two superpowers, of course, are not for human consumption, but surely to launch a new world war.

Chairman Mao has said, “the U.S. is a paper tiger . . . Revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too”, and in the final analysis it is not the superpowers who decide the destiny of mankind, but rather the masses of people who decide their own destiny and who make history.

* * *

As is known, the Red Sea region has become one of the hotbeds of superpower contention and popular resistance.

Given the strategic and economic importance of this region in the calculation of both superpowers for world domination, the Red Sea area has become an important link.

The Red Sea has served from time immemorial as a major trade route between the Far East and the Mediterranean. Before the construction of the Suez Canal in 1869, the Gulf of Suez provided a convenient access to Egypt's heartland and Mediterranean coastal towns and served as a link in the main maritime route for trade between the continents.

The importance of the area grew with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and especially after WW II. This is self-evident especially in light of the fact that the Red Sea and Suez Canal area is a strategic point linking the continents of Asia and Africa with Europe as a vital sea passage leading to the Indian, Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

Through the Red Sea passes 70% of the West's strategic materials (over half of West Europe's oil and 20% of the U.S. oil imports).

Furthermore, besides oil, the littoral states are rich in strategic minerals such as gold, zinc, silver and copper, for which the two superpowers cannot hide their greed.

The economic factors combined with superpower politics in the Middle East conflict, make the region a theatre of fierce contention. For instance, a superpower can block or mine ports, bases, and coasts

and cut off the transportation of its adversary, especially at the southern end of the Red Sea — the Babel Mandab — which is only 20 miles wide.

It follows from this that if one is bent on dominating the region, then one has to control the Red Sea. The recent intensification of superpower rivalry must primarily be seen in this light.

As everyone recalls, the Soviet Union has proposed a federation consisting of Ethiopia, Somalia, South Yemen and an autonomous Eritrea in the spring of last year. This scheme was rejected and later on contributed to the Ogaden conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia. Furthermore, as part of its ambitious plan to dominate the region, the Soviet Union had backed a coup d'etat to overthrow the Numeiri regime in the Sudan. The coup against Numeiri failed, but the Soviet Union managed to involve itself in the successful coup of February '77 in Ethiopia in which its man Mengistu emerged as the top dog. As subsequent developments show, the victory of the Mengistu clique in Ethiopia of course paved the way for massive Soviet involvement and aggression.

On the other hand, the U.S. imperialists, in their contention with Soviet social-imperialism and taking advantage of the people's genuine desire for peace in the region, have, under the flimsy pretext of making the Red Sea a “peace zone”, advocated the unity of their puppet states such as Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, etc., while at the same time sidestepping one of the littoral states. Moreover, the U.S. imperialists, by trying to woo the Somali regime back to their orbit, have contributed their share to fanning the war between Ethiopia and Somalia.

Clearly, the superpowers have sown tension, war and discord.

Fortunately, one can only reap what one sows!

The struggle of the people in the region, in turn, is repulsing them from the area. They are meeting stiff resistance from the peoples' struggles. U.S. imperialism has been kicked out of Ethiopia while Soviet social-imperialism has been booted out of the Sudan and Somalia.

The peoples' struggle is raging everywhere. The Eritrean peoples' struggle is objectively dealing telling blows to both superpowers, while the struggle of the Ethiopian people and the struggle of the various nationality movements have become insurmountable difficulties to the two superpowers; thus clearly letting them know in the language they understand best that the days in which the imperialists can do as they please are long gone.

VI

In the period since the 25th Congress of ESUNA, the various important contradictions that were pointed out in our resolution have not only been confirmed, but have also been intensified.

Firstly, there is the further sharpening of the major contradictions, namely, that between the Ethiopian masses versus Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism, that between the Ethiopian masses versus the internal social bases of Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism, i.e., the fascist military regime and the EDU; and that between the Soviet Union and the United States, versus each other, for control of Ethiopia. Secondly, we have observed the further intensification of the following contradictions, i.e., the Ethiopian masses versus reactionary Arab regimes; and that between the internal social bases of the Soviet Union and United States, namely the fascist military regime and the EDU versus each other in the scramble for political power.

Comrades,

The 25th Congress of ESUNA pointed out¹²:

... due to its position vis a vis the Red Sea, its proximity to the Suez Canal, the Persian Gulf, the Middle East and the Indian Ocean, as well as due to its political and economic traits, Ethiopia has become a theatre of fierce contention between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Events that have unfolded in the last five months have more than confirmed this fact. The grave events that have occurred in the last five months have not only further confirmed ESUNA's correct appraisal that Soviet social-imperialism is the mainbacker of the fascist military regime and the main prop of social-fascist repression and counterrevolution in Ethiopia, but also it has gone much further in an all-round way to subjugate and make Ethiopia its neo-colonial stronghold.

Why is Soviet social-imperialism in such fierce rivalry with U.S. imperialism for the control of Ethiopia? Why are the two superpowers contending for hegemony of the Red Sea region? Now that Soviet social-imperialism has actively intervened politically, militarily and economically in Ethiopia with such speed, intensity and scope, what are its main objectives?

In securing a neo-colonial stronghold in Ethiopia, the Soviet social-imperialists desire to assure themselves of at least the following:

They want to gain a strong foothold in the Red Sea region and use this stronghold as a stepping ground for further aggression and expansion in Africa and the Middle East.

They want to secure military bases and naval facilities in order to facilitate their contention for world hegemony. Their naval fleet in the Black Seas and the Mediterranean can make use of the Red Sea to connect them to the Indian Ocean.

The Soviet revisionists also want to get ports and other facilities in order to control the vital trade route that supplies important products such as oil, thus safeguarding their own and threatening Western imperialists' supplies.

Moreover, securing a foothold in Ethiopia and access to coasts along the Red Sea means that they will exploit the rich mineral resources, fisheries and aquatic resources obtaining in the Red Sea.

Soviet social-imperialism, in securing a neo-colonial stronghold, wants to exploit the labor of millions, plunder our rich mineral and agricultural resources, and dump its shoddy commodities while imposing fascist reaction on our people.

Aside from the above strategic and economic factors, the following historical and political factors have made Ethiopia attractive to the hegemonic designs of the Soviet social-imperialists.

Ethiopia is one of the oldest independent nations in Africa, and its people have a long history of heroic resistance against foreign colonialists. Present-day Ethiopia plays a significant role as one of the diplomatic centers in Africa. For instance, it hosts the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa and the Organization of African Unity.

Furthermore, Ethiopia is the source of the Blue Nile, which is the life blood of Egypt and Sudan. Hence, a strong foothold in Ethiopia will give the Soviet revisionists an important leverage for exerting pressure on the two countries.

All these strategic, economic, political, historical and natural factors combined make Ethiopia a very attractive country for Soviet neo-colonial ambitions in Africa.

Thus, to realize their hegemonism, the Soviet revisionists have taken a number of steps, some of which are: They mobilized their world-wide counterrevolutionary propaganda machine to justify their neo-colonist ambitions, embellish the fascist regime, and attack the revolutionary forces and in particular EPRP. Though the Soviet revisionists usually expand their neo-colonial ambitions in the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America under the general guise of "natural ally in the struggle against imperialism." In Ethiopia, the specific manifestation of this is that the Soviet revisionists have come under the garb of "helping

maintain the territorial integrity" of Ethiopia and "defending the revolution" from so-called "internal" and "external" enemies.

The smokescreen of "maintaining territorial integrity" that the Soviet revisionists have hatched and made common cause with the fascist military regime is designed to hoodwink the peoples and countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and gain a "legal" and politico-diplomatic justifications for their evil ambitions to subjugate Ethiopia.

Under the guise of "saving the revolution" against "internal and external reactionaries" they want to hoodwink international public opinion, win over the support of all the revisionist parties, forces, and countries. This way they want to destroy the revolution.

Why is the Soviet Union so massively involved in such a short time? The extent of the massive involvement is comparable, leaving aside Angola, to that of U.S. imperialism's war of aggression during the beginning of the infamous "special war" in Vietnam. For instance, the Soviet Union gave in one year \$1 billion in military "aid", which is three-fold what the U.S. gave Ethiopia in twenty years. Some of the more important reasons have to do, first of all, with the fierce rivalry between the two superpowers for the control of Ethiopia; and also it has to do with the intensification of the people's revolutionary struggle.

In order to grasp the scope of the all-round penetration of Ethiopia by Soviet social-imperialism, we present a bare outline of the events that have occurred in the last five months, between August and December, 1977. They have first of all consolidated their control of the fascist military regime. In this respect the regime of Colonel Mengistu not only executed the number two man within the ruling clique but also conducted purges within the bureaucracy and the military. The execution of Col. Atnafu, the purges within the military and bureaucracy were a reflection of the intensity of the contention between Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism within the fascist military regime. This shows the further consolidation of the Soviet Union's neo-colonialization of Ethiopia.

When the intre social-fascist sect contradictions (specially between the Fida-led *Meisone* and the Mengistu-led *Seded*) flared up into open battle, the Soviet revisionists reportedly blocked the attempted execution of the *Meisone* leadership by Col. Mengistu. Instead, the Soviet revisionists pushed for forced reconciliation in favor of a united struggle against the EPRP and the revolution. However, this doesn't mean that the contradiction within the social-fascist sects, and primarily between *Seded* and *Meisone* have been resolved.

In fact, the seeds of disintegration and flaring up of contradiction are inherent in revisionism in general and social-fascism in particular. In

order to solve this contradiction, the Soviet revisionists have intensified their call for "Unity of the Marxist-Leninist Groups", namely, the unity of the social-fascist groups, and have called for the formation of the "Working Class Party". The call for this has been going on for about 18 months. The fact that it has taken so long to form this fascist party dubbed the "Worker's Party" shows how deep-rooted indeed is the contradiction within the social-fascist groups and the fascist military regime with which they share state power. On the other hand, how fast this so-called "Worker's Party" is realized at least on a declaration basis will be another factor that will show how far the Soviet revisionists have gone in consolidating their position in Ethiopia.

Soviet social-imperialism is fast getting firm control of the fascist military regime and its armed forces under the guise of giving military 'aid' and sending Soviet military personnel to infiltrate and seize key sections of the armed forces. Beginning in early summer, Soviet and Cuban officers have in some cases replaced Ethiopian military officers and are thus directly commanding sections of the army. Moreover, large numbers of Russian and Cuban military personnel have rushed into Ethiopia to reorganize and train the Ethiopian armed forces. Concurrently, they do such things as selecting personnel, doing intelligence work, ear-marking officers and men not to their liking for reshuffling, demotion, imprisonment, or even to be shot. The vast "militia" of close to 100,000 were trained and politicized by Cubans and Russians.

In late spring and summer of last year, the Soviet Union provided Ethiopia with scores of Mig fighters, close to 200 T-55, T-34 tanks, anti-aircraft missiles, and many thousands of automatic weapons. The arms deliveries by air and ship escalated much more in the fall of last year. The Soviet revisionists have mounted a massive airlift of weaponry and about 40 supply ships have reached Ethiopia since summer.

So far the fascist military regime has received one billion dollars worth of Russian weaponry. EPRP's information bulletin *Abyot* reported that one batch of military orders alone was worth \$200 million, of which \$42 million was ear-marked for military vehicles, \$30 million was spare parts for Mig aircraft only, and the rest for other kinds of weapons. First priority was given to the delivery of spare parts for the Migs.

News reports indicated that Soviet arms to Ethiopia were coming so fast and at such an incredible rate that Addis Ababa's International Airport was swamped with Soviet military aircraft. The airport was closed to civilian traffic for more than a week. The weapons delivery was so urgent that the Soviet revisionists even had to fly in ammunition (which is usually shipped). At one point it was reported that at Addis

Ababa's Airport there were at least 16 crated Mig fighters. They also included sophisticated fighter planes such as Mig-23.

A few months earlier the military regime had already received 4 squadrons of Mig-21 (30-40 planes); 200 T-54 and T-55 tanks; Sam-3 and Sam-7 anti-aircraft missiles.

Along with the massive weapons delivery a large number of Soviet military personnel have come to Ethiopia. Only in November there were 100 Soviet "advisors", and in a month it skyrocketed to 10-fold — and the number is increasing. Similarly, the particularly zealous puppet of Soviet social-imperialism, Cuba, has intensified its military presence in Ethiopia. In not more than seven months Cuban mercenaries' presence in Ethiopia has increased 30-fold, ranking second only to that in Angola. Today Cuban mercenaries are not only training the so-called "peoples' militia" and are not only acting as military advisors in the security and armed forces, but they are also involved in direct command as military officers. In fact, latest reports indicate that the Cubans have started to participate in the Ogaden as combatants. The Cubans are also reportedly flying some of the fighter planes of the military regime in carrying out bombing missions in Eritrea and Ogaden.

Also by October, there were already several hundred South Yemen mercenaries directly involved in combat in Eritrea. The South Yemenis formed the tank crew. Also a few thousand "peoples' militia" are under intensive military training in South Yemen. There are large numbers of East German mercenaries too. They have concentrated mainly on gaining control of the security apparatus. Along with the Soviets, the Cubans and East German mercenaries are also running the secret police. More than 25 KGB experts have taken up positions in Addis Ababa.

As can be seen from the above, taking advantage of the extreme isolation of the fascist military regime, of the continuous military setbacks met in Eritrea and Ogaden, the Soviet social-imperialists have made an all-round coordinated and intensified effort to squeeze concessions after concessions from the regime in order to gain control of the armed forces. First, they started sending advisors to work at key sections of the armed forces and security forces. The Soviets have also facilitated the training of the 100,000 "peoples' militia".

By early summer, there were not only Russian officers on active duty in the armed forces, but also the Soviet revisionists had a hand in the reorganizing effort of the armed forces that is being carried out. For instance, the setting up of the so-called National Revolutionary Operations Command Council (NROCC) during the summer was designed to have direct control over all armed forces, the police and militia. NROCC is under the direct control of Col. Mengistu. The

centralization and concentration of power that came about as a result of this is to the liking of the military regime and the Kremlin Czars.

However, the Kremlin Czars want to go further. They want to establish a "shadow high command" so as to directly control the Ethiopian armed forces. And this is what they did. The Soviet Social-imperialists have set up the so-called Secret Strategic Military Committee (SSMC). This committee is composed of seven Ethiopian and eleven foreign officers, of whom eight are Soviets and three are Cubans. We can see clearly that the Russian officers dominate this committee. The committee has three tasks:

- 1) Raising the technical and organizational efficiency of the armed forces and the "militia";
- 2) Laying down military plans for the "reversal" of the setbacks incurred in Eritrea and Ogaden;
- 3) Drawing up plans to "destroy" EPRP both in the cities and countryside.

This grave plot against the Ethiopian people's revolutionary struggle and against the Eritrean liberation struggle is a logical development of the desperate actions of the fascist-military regime, a regime of national betrayal and out-and-out counterrevolution. The committee is headed by the chief of staff of the Ethiopian armed forces and has as a member a Russian Lt. General. The Committee started work in mid-October and has been meeting almost day and night. It can be seen that this Committee, which has been empowered by the military regime to undertake the above three tasks actually gives the Soviet social-imperialists ways and means to directly command the armed forces and to undertake military operations. It is only three months now since the formation of this notorious Secret Strategic Military Committee, and the facts show that the Soviet Social-imperialists and the fascist military regime are doing everything possible to achieve their three aims.

First, as far as raising the technical and organizational efficiency of the armed forces and the "militia" is concerned, the fascist regime, as was mentioned earlier, centralized and concentrated the command structure of the armed forces directly under Col. Mengistu. Soviet Migs, tanks and other armaments are coming en masse, and Ethiopian military officers and men are being trained to use the advanced weaponry. Moreover, there is a call for purging the armed forces of so-called military bourgeoisie officers. The training and directing of the "militia" has been taken over by Soviet and Cuban military officers. It has been reported that the Cubans are constructing a huge arms depot

near Addis Ababa, extending from Siga Meda to Holleta. Moreover, Cuban officers have now taken over the Holleta Military Cadet School and directly run the Army's tank training facility in Awash. Also, the Russian, Cuban, and East German mercenaries are in control of the security. All this shows that the so-called Secret Strategic Military Committee is indeed facilitating the realization of Soviet social-imperialism's desire to control the armed forces and, concurrently, the whole country.

Second, as far as the second objective of the so-called Secret Strategic Military Committee is concerned, the Soviet revisionists and the puppet military regime are employing Russian Migs and frenziedly bombing and burning towns and villages under the control of the Eritrean liberation fighters in a vain attempt to crush the just struggle of the Eritrean masses. For the first time since 1975, the Ethiopian fascist military regime is using napalm to burn men and women, young and old, and destroy their property. The recent bombings and napalming of Tesseni and Keren and nearby villages attests to these facts. This shows that the military regime and its revisionist masters will not stop at anything in trying to crush the Eritrean masses' struggle. However, the heroic Eritrean masses are not to be subdued. It will be the Soviet social-imperialists and the fascist military regime who will be crushed by the combined struggle of the Eritrean and Ethiopian masses. The Soviet social-imperialists in their wild attempt to crush the Eritrean armed struggle, together with their puppet Mengistu, will no doubt employ counterrevolutionary dual tactics against the heroic Eritrean liberation fighters, the EPLF and the ELF. The EPLF and the ELF have persevered in armed struggle, and they are forging unity. This is a blow first and foremost to the military regime, Soviet social-imperialism, and U.S. imperialism. The Soviet revisionists, together with the military regime, concocted the machination of calling one front "progressive" and another front "reactionary" in their evil attempt to set the fronts against each other and/or "hope for" capitulation. The EPLF and ELF saw through this manouvre, and they have called for unity and armed struggle against the common enemies. We are confident that, so long as the two fronts persevere in armed struggle, and work towards unity to foil the evil machinations of the two superpowers, foil the counterrevolutionary dual tactics of Soviet social-imperialism and the fascist military regime, then the just struggle of the Eritrean masses will be victorious. In Eritrea, the fascist military regime finds itself in a very difficult position. It is confined to a couple of towns. But even there, supply comes by airlift. Road transportation for the regime is difficult.

Massawa itself is being contested, its water supply is cut off, forcing the regime into employing Soviet and other warships to supply food and water (brought from Assab) to feed the besieged troops. All this shows that the regime's war of annihilation policy in Eritrea, along with social-imperialism's evil manipulation through the Secret Strategic Military Committee, will come to no good end.

The war between the two reactionary regimes Siad Barre and Mengistu, which has the hand of the two superpowers, has brought about much suffering, death, and destruction to the peoples of Ogaden as well as to the Ethiopian and Somalian masses. In the battle for the control of the town Jijiga alone, more than 10,000 people were killed. In the Ogaden, too, the Ethiopian fascist regime, in alliance with the Soviet revisionists, is carrying out indiscriminate and piratical air raids against the people. The Somali regime's aggression into Ethiopian territory in the name of its expansionist aims of "Greater Somalia" has given the social-imperialists a pretext for massive intervention under the guise of "helping secure the territorial integrity of Ethiopia". The military regime is also using the war in the Ogaden to divert the internal class struggle, consolidate itself with the massive Soviet aid, and bleed the people white under the slogan of "all for the war front".

The third objective of the Strategic Military Committee is to "destroy" EPRP. The Soviet social-imperialists know full well that without crushing the people's revolutionary struggle they cannot have a free hand in Ethiopia. Thus the Soviet social-imperialists, together with the regime, have made it one of their primary objectives to crush the struggle of the revolutionary masses. Today, Russians, Cubans and East Germans are not only advisors to Mengistu's Security Service, they are also directly participating in the torture and execution of workers, peasants, youth, and in particular suspected EPRP members and sympathizers.

In order to subdue the people's growing resistance, they have carried out frequent house-to-house searches with increasing ferocity and intensity. In fact, the fascist regime has gone further and further, each time breaking its own previous records. All this is being undertaken with the full participation and backing of moral, political, technical, and material support by Soviet social-imperialism and their Cuban puppets.

The infamous and ugly history of Soviet social-imperialist intervention in other countries shows that they will not and have not hesitated to concoct a pretext for military involvement and aggression, and from attempting a physical annihilation of the revolutionary forces and national liberation movements. They have neither stopped from

inciting reactionary civil wars, backed down from sowing discord between countries and igniting reactionary wars, nor will they stop at dismembering nations if they believe something of benefit will result from it.

Soviet social-imperialist penetration of Ethiopia is not confined to the political and military spheres alone, but includes the economic sphere as well. This could be seen at a glance, clearly, from the following incomplete data.

Under the pretext of "military assistance", the Soviet social-imperialists have already squeezed hundreds of millions of dollars (in foreign currency and in gold from Adola) as payments for the huge influx of Soviet arms and munitions in Ethiopia.

Under the pretense of helping Ethiopia to prospect for minerals, the Soviet social-imperialists have sent group after group of geological experts and are thereby spreading their tentacles into the mining sphere.

The Soviet Union and its puppets are also stepping up their plunder of Ethiopia by increasing their volume of trade. Thus the influx of outmoded Soviet and East European machinery and equipment (e.g., tractors, buses, bicycles, etc.) is increasing.

Moreover, the Soviet Union has sent large numbers of its Cuban henchmen to run quite a few of the nationalized firms. For example, the various agricultural and agro-industrial estates in the Awash Valley are being run by Cubans. These show that the Soviet social-imperialists are feverishly working to get their hands into the industrial sector.

Capital export in the form of joint enterprises by the Soviet Union and its puppets is also on the rise. The expansion of the Czechoslovak-run meat canning plant in Ethiopia, the setting up of East German-run commercial farms in Wollega, the recent conclusion of an agreement by the latter to expand the Assab harbor, are only a few examples showing that the Soviet revisionists and their allies are making rapid inroads into Ethiopia's neo-colonial economy.

It is these political, economic and military considerations taken together which make us recognize that Soviet social-imperialism is the dominant superpower in Ethiopia at present.

VII

Comrades,

The Ethiopian revolution is entrusted with the glorious task of defeating the Soviet social-imperialists, along with U.S. imperialism and their respective domestic lackies and usher in the birth of a New Democratic Ethiopia. The complete realization of this task will

definitely introduce a fundamental change in class relations internally in the region and will also leave a positive impact on the present nature of the class struggle internationally. When detailed into the concrete, this will mean, among other things:

(a) The complete destruction of the rule of imperialism, social-imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism on whose ruin a proletarian-led people's Democratic Republic is established.

(b) The establishment of a new democratic economy totally free from the control, supervision and influence of the capital of imperialism and social-imperialism.

(c) The open declaration of the equality of all nationalities residing in Ethiopia and of their right to self-determination up to and including independence; on the basis of this the construction of iron-clad bonds among the entire people of our country.

(d) Internationally, it will represent a modest contribution to the cause of the world proletariat and oppressed peoples and nations. In the present period it will also be a concrete contribution to frustrate the desperate war preparations of the two superpowers.

But the road to the attainment of the above revolutionary objectives is not smooth-sailing. This is particularly so, in our case, not so much that the enemy has amassed huge military forces in its hands — this is almost similar in all cases — but precisely because it enjoys an all-round support from domestic as well as international revisionists whose particular talent lies in their untiring attempt to spread all sorts of fallacious "theories" to confuse the revolutionary masses.

Hence, to continue the struggle against the various revisionist currents whose spearhead is the Haile Fidda clique, is a question of fundamental significance. ESUNA vows to continue to contribute its modest share on this score.

The significance of this stands clearly at the moment because the clique is working over time to obstruct the clear and correct understanding among the masses as to what the present Soviet Union is, how it has come to assume such a role as it is playing in our country, why it deeply hates the revolution, etc. By exploiting the great prestigious image the Soviet Union earned when it was socialist under Lenin and Stalin, the revisionists are peddling the present Czars of Moscow as "natural allies" of our people, as allies whose "selfless support" at a time of "national crisis" makes them "friends in deed". Every move of penetration and control by the Moscow Czars finds an accompanying host of ideological justification by the domestic revisionists. The Soviet Union's economic penetration and strangulation

is passed off as a genuine aid from a socialist country, while its huge dumping of armaments and influx of its military "experts" is seen not as measures to extract fast super-profits and to entrench its sphere of influence, but a "genuine" expression of its commitment to "defend" Ethiopia from imperialist aggression and interference. All of these ideological rationale can have no other aim but the complete betrayal of the national rights of our people and their dependence on the social-imperialists. This is nothing strange. As the Chinese comrades put it: The modern revisionists help the imperialists to deceive the people, divert the people's attention, and weaken their struggle against imperialism.

The traitorous deeds of "our" revisionists and the fifth-columnist role they play for the social-imperialists know no bounds and have long historical roots. In the student movement, back in the days after the formation of the WWFES, when the clique openly stood in head-on opposition to the mounting development of the student movement in general and ESUE in particular, it was a public secret that they maintained illicit counterrevolutionary relations with the government of the Soviet Union and some other East European countries. As a result, members of the various contingents of the WWFES residing in these areas were occasionally harassed and threatened. In certain East European countries, there were instances where student scholarship funds were either cut or suspended. There were also instances when members were threatened with deportation and even extradition to Ethiopia where they faced brutal execution in the hands of the fascist regime. None of these passed without the active participation and plots of these renegades. Pursuing a bankrupt political line, having no faith, and losing the support of the revolutionary masses, the clique could not be good for anything but police-work.

With the advent of the struggle of the Ethiopian people in February 1974 and after, the agent activities of these revisionists have escalated to marked proportions. What had earlier been a sell-out of only the revolutionary objectives of the student movement grew to become a general programme of betraying the national and class interest of the oppressed masses of Ethiopia. Using the leverage it acquired through the collaboration with the regime, it opened the door wide for all sorts of revisionists and imperialist experts to swarm our country.

During its heyday, this renegade clique reported that an unprecedented number of delegates from the Soviet Union and its

dependencies representing various agencies had been invited to Ethiopia. This is an open fact of which the Haile Fidda revisionist clique makes no attempt to hide. In fact, in one issue of its revisionist organ *Ye Sefiw Hizb Demtse*, it has shamelessly bragged about the great contributory role it played, hooking Ethiopia into the noose of social-imperialism. Along this line, here is how it was put:

"In the last three months, the socialist countries have come to support the Ethiopian revolution more strongly than ever with each passing day. Particularly ever since the Soviet news correspondent of E.P.N. wrote an article denouncing the EPRP and other forces who oppose the Ethiopian revolution, economic, cultural and military delegations from East European countries as well as Cuba have visited our country."

How was this great "internationalist" support of the revisionists earned? Who shouldered this "heavy task" of winning over the "socialist camp" and "progressive" organizations? The clique leaves no room for any kind of doubt. In the same issue of its organ, it has explicitly provided the answer:

"For a close relation between socialist countries and Ethiopia, in order to make the socialist countries and progressive organizations (read: the Soviet Union and E. European countries and their revisionist organizations) better understand the nature of the Ethiopian revolution and extend their genuine support, to it *Meisone* on its part has conducted an extensive agitation. This agitation is responsible for the present international support the Ethiopian revolution is getting."

This clearly demonstrates the nature of the revisionist heap grouped around *Meisone*. By open admission it has shown how low it has bent itself in its traitorous deals with the social-imperialists. It also shows how the clique has shed all symptoms of a revolutionary or even of a nationalist or of a genuine patriot – to degenerate into a "party" of capitulation and betrayal.

Lenin long ago characterized revisionism as "vague, indistinct and imperceptible". These long said profound descriptions by Lenin still merit their validity nowadays in the activities of "our" revisionists. The domestic revisionists, not only do they proclaim their collaboration with the social-imperialists, at times they also attempt to give a picture of "independence" (by hawking "self-reliance") and even opposition to them.

They are compelled to resort to such subterfuges by the ever-increasing class consciousness of the broad masses who are getting a better understanding of the real nature of the Soviet Union with each passing day. As the class consciousness of the broad masses increases to new heights, the domestic revisionists and their hangers-on will no doubt concoct even more "cunning" and "deceptive" catchwords and phrases to cover up their servility to social-imperialism.

Hence, the ideological, political and theoretical struggles against the local revisionists must be continued to the bitter end.

Comrades,

Up until now, the unity among the ranks in the Ethiopian Student Movement has been kept intact, and developing in the midst of a long history of struggle and victory. This was possible because the general orientation and line of the movement was correct; because there was a deep and principled hatred for the enemies of our people; because the movement fought against all deviations and traitors who attempted to blur the demarcation line between the enemy and ourselves who attempted to spread various illusions about our enemies under such spurious theories as "the petty-bourgeoisie has a radicalizing role", that "imperialism helps to develop capitalistically", etc. Precisely because the movement followed such an uncompromising struggle in matters of principle, was it able to wield close unity amongst its ranks as we witness it today.

Comrades,

The Central Committee of E.S.U.N.A. is full of hope that our glorious student movement will continue to strengthen its unity even further by following the banner of all-out principled and unyielding struggle against Soviet social-imperialism.

The attainment of this lofty objective calls for many-sided and complex tasks which we must carry out in earnest.

First we must make serious efforts to educate those who, due to lack of political clarity, still entertain illusions about the nature of present-day Soviet Union.

Second, we must thoroughly rebuff any attempt (from whatever quarter it may arise) to curtail our struggle to merely criticizing certain revisionist prescriptions of the Kremlin Czars. This is a struggle which must be waged against those as Mao Tse-tung has said, "... whose thinking fails to advance with changing objective circumstances ...", who "... simply trail behind ... trying to drag it back or turn it in the opposite direction".¹³

Comrade Hoxha said, "the ideological struggle against revisionism remains a prime current during which should be carried through to the end until the complete defeat of revisionism. But today, this would be insufficient and would not have a successful conclusion if the present Soviet Union were not considered as an imperialist state power."¹⁴

Under the present concrete international and domestic conditions, it would be playing a folly for revolutionaries not to grasp the meaning of this. The struggle against modern revisionism must be closely linked with the struggle against imperialism. We must not only oppose and criticize the various revisionist "theories" of the modern Czars, but we must also expose the socialist-in-words and imperialist-in-deeds nature of the Soviet Union. This is the only road; a road whose correctness is irrefutably being demonstrated by the development of the struggle of the world proletariat, oppressed peoples and nations and the International Communist Movement that we must follow. Any slight digression from this will surely end in objectively working against the revolution, for there is no other alternative course to hold on to.

Third, we must thoroughly reject and repudiate all subjectivist, pragmatist, centrist, or apologist arguments with respect to the real nature of present-day Soviet Union and with respect to its role in our country and elsewhere.

Local revisionists and opportunists of all hues will no doubt hurl all sorts of "theories" and "arguments" to attack our principled stand on this question. We may be attacked for being "dogmatic", or "of following the dictates of othe parites", etc. We may be told that mass organizations, "by their very nature" cannot take a stand on social-imperialism. We may be accused of "distorting" the nature of present-day Soviet Union by opposing it as an imperialist power, whereas its only problem is "lack of information on Ethiopia".

We must firmly and thoroughly reject all such unscientific, absurd and nonsensical arguments and carry forward our unswerving struggle against social-imperialism, imperialism and local reaction.

Comrades,

The path we are traversing may appear to be difficult and insurmountable. Frequently, the sounds from the guns of imperialism and social-imperialism may echo louder than the happy songs of revolution. This is just temporary and must never give way to loss of faith, no matter what the difficulties and no matter how long counterrevolutionaries may attempt to lengthen their life-span. In the end the masses will certainly be victorious. As Chairman Mao said:

"Whether in China or in other countries of the world, to sum up, over 90% of the population will eventually support Marxism-Leninism. There are still many people in the world who have not yet awakened because of the deceptions of social-democrats, revisionists, imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries. But anyhow they will gradually awaken and support Marxism-Leninism. The truth of Marxism-Leninism is irresistible. The masses of people will eventually rise in revolution. The world revolution is bound to triumph."

FOOTNOTES

1. *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*, International Publishers, New York, 1939, p. 360.
2. Lenin, "Greetings to the Hungarian Workers", *Selected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 2, Part 2, pp. 210-211.
3. Aristotel Pano, The Soviet Economy — A Completely and Definitely Capitalist Economy, *Albania Today* (4, (23), 1975).
4. *Peking Review*, No. 51, 1976.
5. Z.A. Iankova, The Development of the Personality of Women in Soviet Society, *Problems of Economics*, Vol. XX, No. 3, July 1977.
6. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, FLPP, 1973, p. 150.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 149-150.
8. *Ibid*, p. 72.
9. Enver Hoxha, *Report Submitted to the 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania*, The "Naim Frasheri" Publishing House, Tirana, 1971, p. 25.
10. *Peking Review*, No. 24, 1976.
11. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 35.
12. Report on the 25th Congress of ESUNA, *Combat*, Vol. VI, No. 5, August 1977.
13. Mao Tse-tung, "On Practice", *Selected Readings*, FLPP, 1971, pp. 79-80.
14. Enver Hoxha, *op cit*, p. 26.

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.

